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guardians and their co-detainees who, by constantly attacking the "Zionists", seek to prove their loyalty to a regime which has declared the word synonymous with the worst possible crimes.

52. In some of the camps, posts of responsibility are held by prisoners condemned for life for collaboration with the Nazis during the second world war, with results that one can imagine for the daily life of the Jewish prisoners. Jewish prisoners are those made to spend the longest periods in solitary confinement; or who have their half-yearly visits by relatives cancelled. (On one occasion such a visit was cancelled because the prisoner "had not a proper haircut". His mother, who had travelled for two days to reach the camp, was told to "come again for the next visit, in six months time".) The few authorised parcels are withheld and other "rights" often withdrawn.

53. The result is that many of the "prisoners of Zion" are in an alarming state of health. One of them, a young woman, is critically ill. Others have severe heart conditions or suffer from haemorrhages. When unable to fill their work quotas their meagre food rations are further curtailed, as punishment. If world opinion cannot bring about a change, these people risk the worst.

54. Mention should be made of the fate of the families of those arrested. Here again, neighbours and authorities sometimes feel impelled to vent hatred against them, and thus prove their own loyalty. Constant abuse, petty sadism and tremendous sadness is often their lot. Some, finally, have emigrated to Israel, at the request of the prisoners themselves who—while thus foregoing their visits—feel better, knowing their families are away.

vii. Those Who Leave

55. Your rapporteur has not dwelt on the problems faced by those who have obtained exit permits. Compared with the problems of the "refused ones", these seem minor. Yet, one should mention that an exit visa costs 400 Roubles per person (\$400 approximately, or about three months salary); that each departing person above the age of 16 is forced to renounce his Soviet citizenship at a cost of an additional 500 Roubles. Most valuables cannot be taken out and a large part of those that can be quite openly are taken away by customs officials who know that they are facing helpless, stateless people who cannot complain in any way. The frontier station in Tchopp is most notorious in this respect.

viii. How Many Emigrants?

56. Before concluding there is one question to be asked: How many Jews would like to leave the Soviet Union?

It is not possible to advance a figure. What is known is that at the end of October 1973, there were some 120,000 Jews trying to obtain the exit visa; and that the backlog of requests grows by the thousand every month; as the number of applications largely surpasses the number of permits granted.

57. The number of potential applicants depends, and will continue to depend, upon a whole series of conditions: the nature and virulence of repression used against applicants; the proportion of permits granted in relation to the number of applications filed; the course of the anti-Semitic campaign to be described below; the "professional categories" question; etc.

58. In areas where it is comparatively easy to obtain an exit visa, applicants already represent an absolute majority of the members of the existing Jewish community as in Georgia, for example. (Yet it should be remembered that even in those areas the number of refusals is very high.) In towns where anyone applying for a visa is in danger of incurring repression, the number of applications is smaller. It becomes very small in places where some applicants are arrested on one pretext or another.

59. In concluding this part of the report one should again stress that the real problem, as presented in Mr. Pittermann's previous report, has remained virtually unchanged. That a few thousand Jews coming mainly from three or four peripheral republics are able to leave the Soviet Union every month has not altered the basic issue, that is the persecution of those wishing to leave, the difficulties imposed, the effort made to halt emigration, the severe punishments meted out whenever possible and the simple fact that the largest part of Soviet Jewry is deliberately blocked from emigration and thus has, for the time being, very little hope of realising this right and desire.

3. The anti-Semitic campaign

60. This campaign, often decried, has assumed most disturbing proportions in the last few years. In the past, the authorities sought to disguise this as "anti-Zionism". They recently, often, drop this subterfuge. While attacks still are usually directed at the "Israelis" or the "Zionists", their form, content and themes are directly derived from the most classic and virulent anti-Semitic tradition, adapted by the simple expedient of changing the word "Jew" into "Zionist". Thus, it is now the "Zionists" who control world finance, do not like to work, dominate the world press and try to conquer the whole world through secret religious organisations.

61. The official government organ, *Izvestia*, for example, wrote in 1972 that "throughout the (second world) war international Zionist organisations supplied arms and war materials to Germany... the Jewish leaders applauded Nazi crimes, in the belief that these would result in increased immigration to Palestine."

62. The notorious anti-Semitic writer Trofim Kitchko, whose book *Judaism Without Embellishment* was withdrawn from circulation in 1963 as a result of a wave of indignation and protest throughout the world, is still publishing material no less racist in content. He frequently quotes from his first volume and, having recently been decorated by the Ukrainian authorities, is today described on the flyleaf of his new works as the "famous author of *Judaism Without Embellishment*," notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet authorities have described this book as "a mistake." Kitchko's latest book is called *Zionism, the Enemy of the Young*; but the chapter headings are all too familiar: "Judaism, the Enemy of the Young"; "The Rabbinate in the Service of Reaction"; "the Heder and the Synagogue—the Enemies of Education"; etc. This latest book by Kitchko has also taken up the old custom of mentioning in brackets the Jewish Surnames of the "traditional" enemies: Trotsky (Bronstein), Kameney (Rosenfeld), etc. A recent film about Lenin has adopted the same method by continuously stressing, that Fanny Kaplan, who tried to kill Lenin, was a Jewess (she used to be described as a counter-revolutionary).

63. Numerous "anti-Israel" cartoons are published daily in the press. The person symbolising Israel is always bald, with a very long nose and a money bag hanging from his belt, in the best *Stuermer* tradition.

64. The entire press, radio and television are used in this campaign, and there is a constant publication of books or articles tainted with anti-Semitism of the most primitive kind.

65. Israeli sportsmen participating in the latest university games in Moscow had the sad experience of being called "dirty Jews" by rows of Red Army soldiers around the stadium, who encouraged the teams playing against the Israelis with the cry "turn them into soap," a reference that could hardly be misunderstood.

66. Recently there has been a new, grave development: Soviet authorities have been inserting texts of an anti-Semitic character in publications meant for external consumption,

both in Europe and in Africa and Latin America. In September 1972, for instance, the Soviet Embassy in Paris published in its information bulletin an article entitled "School for Obscurantism," including the following excerpts:

"Here are the concrete rules governing the relationship between Jews and all other people... it is strictly prohibited for a Jew to save from death (a non-Jew) with whom he is living in peace. He is forbidden to cure (a non-Jew) even for money, but is allowed to test a drug on him... It is better to throw a piece of meat to a dog than to give it to a 'goy'... It is ordained that 'goy's' under the divine vaults shall be massacred..."

67. Similar articles, containing the same quotations (all, by the way, followed by non-existent references, chapter and verse included, all purely invented, to Jewish Holy Books), were published by the Soviet press agency Novosti in Rome and in some English-speaking countries. The publication of this article resulted in the bringing to trial of the editor of the Soviet Embassy Bulletin in Paris. The trial (March 1973) was, in many ways, an historical one. Its high mark was the presentation to the court of the original book from which these quotations and other parts of the Soviet Embassy article were taken—a book published in 1906, in St. Petersburg, by the "Black Hundreds", calling for programs against the Jews. The Soviet Embassy just copied excerpts from this book, spelling mistakes included. The editor of the Soviet Bulletin was condemned by the court for "incitement and provocation to racial discrimination and to racial hatred" and was heavily fined. But thousands of similar (or worse) publications in the Soviet Union itself not only go unpunished, but receive official encouragement.

68. It is hard to speculate about the reason behind such "export" of anti-Semitic hatred. But for the Jews living in the Soviet Union (and many of them, undoubtedly, wishing to go on living there) there certainly could be some danger because of promotion of anti-Semitism, especially in areas remote from urban centres. Here it doubtless would be difficult for the authorities to prevent outbursts of racial hatred of the kind being implanted and stirred up.

4. Culture and religion

69. The problem of those Jews who might wish to remain in the Soviet Union as Jews brings to the foreground the question of religious and cultural life available to them.

70. The situation of the Jewish community as a religious and cultural minority remains unchanged. It is still the only minority in the Soviet Union whose legal status and national identity the authorities persist in denying. The Soviet Constitution guarantees the rights of minorities, but the Jewish people, who number more than 3 million, do not enjoy these rights, and are alone in being denied them.

71. The teaching of Hebrew (or Yiddish) is in practice prohibited. The many petitions by Jewish people on this point to the Soviet authorities, at national and local level, and to international bodies like UNESCO, have been in vain. The authorities' reply has always been that "the teaching of foreign languages is provided for in the study programme established by the Soviet Ministry of Education, and therefore private teaching of the (Hebrew) language is forbidden". (Official letter dated 25 February 1972.)

72. The teaching of Hebrew is not only forbidden, but actually often punished. The special police often break into flats when Hebrew lessons are conducted, search the premises and sometimes arrest the tenant. At some trials, the charges include "possession of anti-Soviet writings", when in fact the writings in question are merely textbooks or Russian-Hebrew dictionaries.

73. There is no longer any such thing as Jewish culture as a separate phenomenon. Some of the greatest Soviet artists are in-

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deed of Jewish origin but, since the execution of Jewish writers (in August 1952), any genuine national culture, in the sense used by the Soviet authorities in connection with other minorities, has vanished without trace.

74. In the Soviet Union today there is thus no permanent Jewish theatre (although it was in Russia and Poland that the Jewish theatre burgeoned and won its fame).

75. Occasionally a book is published in Yiddish. In a limited edition, which is quite out of keeping with the situation of other national minorities in the USSR, whatever their size.⁴

76. The only Yiddish-language newspaper is the *Birobidjaner Stern* which comes out several times a week, printed on a single sheet.⁵ There is also a monthly review, *Sovietische Heimatland*, with a circulation of 10,000 (it used to be 25,000) which concentrates mainly on deploring anything which, in its eyes, is tinged with suspicion of "Zionism".

77. Almost the only outlet for Jewish identity in the Soviet Union today is religious life. But even this last outlet is in the process of disappearing. The struggle against the Jewish religion is permanent, virulent, and sometimes violent. Most synagogues have already been closed down. Synagogues were not only places of prayer. They were also used as meeting places, points of social contact, the only remaining ones for members of the Jewish community.

78. Now even the synagogue is denied them. In Kiev, for instance, in early 1972, the police diligently prevented access to the synagogue; and every week, on the Sabbath, people on their way to religious service were arrested and condemned to 15 days in prison. In Moscow, ever since March 1972, barricades were erected near the synagogue and the large crowds unable to find room inside were turned away, as they had not been in previous years, and forced to disperse from the street. Since the Jewish New Year (September 1972) the Moscow police, on every Jewish festival, have been directing motor traffic through Archipova street, where the synagogue stands, thus preventing the worshippers from congregating. Moscow Jews were in the habit of assembling in thousands near the synagogue on the evening of the Simchat Torah festival, a few weeks after the New Year. Since 1972 they are forbidden to assemble there. Those who complained to the municipal authorities received the reply: "It is only by mistake that such gatherings were tolerated in the past . . . from now on they will be prohibited." There were armed police to make sure this measure was enforced.

79. Jewish cemeteries are being gradually shut down, and the consecration of new ones is forbidden. Those existing are periodically desecrated.

80. The many Jews who come to lay wreaths at the Baba Yar memorial are not allowed to linger or pray there, or even to inscribe the word "Jew" on the ribbon attached to the wreath.

81. The manufacture or import of religious objects (prayer shawls, phylacteries) is prohibited. The same is true for the Bible. The

Jewish cultural heritage cannot be transmitted and books on Jewish history, culture, art and philosophy are unavailable.

82. Prayer books are often confiscated, and there is at least one known case in which a court ordered the Jewish prayer book (the *Siddur*) to be burned as anti-Soviet literature, and officially notified the plaintiff of its decision.

5. Conclusion

83. The situation of the Jewish communities in the Soviet Union continues to be grave and alarming. It also continues to be a special one.

84. The tendency sometimes expressed to group the Jews with "dissidents" in the Soviet Union is erroneous. In a country where the government spends great effort to develop, or at least to guarantee, the specificity of most minorities, Jews are in a particular situation. Anti-Semitism has become state policy. Jewish culture has been destroyed and manifestations of it are sanctioned. In a country that prides itself on having developed the obscurest languages, Hebrew and Yiddish are forbidden. The limited, but existing minority rights are denied to the Jews, although they are "Hebrew", according to their official nationality identity cards. Jews remain the only minority without a territory of their own (they number only about 8% of the population of Birobidjan, their so-called Jewish "Autonomous Region" and this region has no Jewish facilities whatsoever).

85. While the rest of the Soviet Union has enjoyed a certain measure of liberalisation in the last years it is sad to note that in 1973 there were fewer synagogues, fewer Jews knowing their own language, fewer Jewish students in universities than in Stalin's time.

86. This has brought many Jews to a painful process of soul searching and to the conclusion that, more than 50 years after the Russian revolution, they are unwanted in their own birthplace.

87. There are various "dissent groups" in the Soviet Union—"democrats", "believers" etc., who hope to change, to humanise, to liberalise the Soviet regime. These people wish to live in a better Soviet Union. Many Jews have by now lost hope that they will ever find their place, as Jews, in that country. While the "democrats" seek to alter their country, the Jews now wish to leave it, and this is the basic difference between the two struggles.

88. In concluding this report one cannot but emphasise again the importance of world action on behalf of Soviet Jews. This action provides a rare example of achievement by public opinion of concrete results towards the application of universal human rights. Yet, the problem is very far from being solved.

89. In 1971 Mr. Pittermann concluded his report with the words: "the vigilance of public opinion and above all of governments ought to be maintained". This holds as true in 1974.

HEARINGS ANNOUNCED ON KOCH BILL TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY

(Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for the information of many of our colleagues, I announce that public hearings will be held by the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee on H.R. 12206, a bill sponsored by Representative Edward

I. KOCH of New York; earlier versions of this measure—H.R. 667 and identical bills—have also been cosponsored by more than 100 Members of the House.

This measure would amend the Freedom of Information Act (5 U.S.C. 552) to permit access by individuals to certain types of information concerning them that is maintained by Federal agencies.

The hearings are scheduled for Tuesday, February 19, and Tuesday, February 26 at 10 a.m. in room 2203, Rayburn House Office Building.

The subcommittee held hearings in June 1972, on a similar bill, H.R. 9527, but took no further action prior to adjournment of the 92d Congress. The new, modified version of the legislation will help individual Americans to protect themselves against the use of erroneous information maintained in Government files and records by Federal agencies.

Since such extensive hearings have already been held on this measure, these hearings will be limited to 2 days only to discuss modifications in the approach to the problem, as incorporated in H.R. 12206. Members desiring to submit statements for the Record may do so by March 8, 1974. The statements should be sent to the subcommittee office—room B-371B, Rayburn House Office Building.

Mr. Speaker, witnesses from the Office of Management and Budget and the Departments of Justice and Health, Education, and Welfare have also been invited to testify on H.R. 12206. Their testimony will take on added significance in view of President Nixon's statement in his recent state of the Union message to Congress in which he pledged:

We will make a historic beginning on the task of defining and protecting the right of personal privacy for every American . . .

This pledge is directly in line with more than 15 years of effort by Members of Congress to encourage the executive branch to take a stronger stand on the protection of the right to privacy.

REPEAL ECONOMIC STABILIZATION ACT

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to join with many of our colleagues in calling for the immediate repeal of the economic stabilization act and a return to a free market economy.

Governmental meddling with the economic system has proven to be disastrous and has failed to control inflation much less eradicate its basic causes.

Recent events indicate the disastrous effect of price controls on our economy. The independent truckers demanded that they be allowed to pass through increased costs. Such a demand would not have been necessary had we been in a free market situation.

The problems of the American agricultural community in obtaining fertilizer is another instance of the detrimental effects of a controlled economy. Hearings before the agriculture committee brought out the fact that controlled domestic

⁴ According to the official Soviet publication "Press in the USSR, 1971" 7 books and brochures in Yiddish were published in 1971 with a total circulation of 18,000 copies. The same year there were published 109 books in Karakalpatik (236,000 citizens) with a total circulation of 532,000 and 25 books in Tabasaranic (55,000 citizens) with a total circulation of 47,000.

⁵ As an indication of the kind of paper this is, it may be said that, after the Munich tragedy, it reported the death of the 5 terrorists but did not even mention the massacre of Israeli athletes.